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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this document is to analyze the historical influences of Confucianism and Buddhism on Korean culture and to explore the religions' impact on Korean higher education. Three questions comprised the research: 1) What are the characteristics of Buddhism and Confucianism in Korean cultural history? 2) How did Buddhism have an effect on monastic Buddhist schools? and 3) How did Confucianism affect the National Confucian Academy and the National civilian and military service exams in the Choson era? The research focuses on religious and intellectual history of pre-modern Korean higher education, and addresses these issues within the context of educational administration, using a literature-review approach as well as a discussion of the major religious elements of Korean cultural history. (HB)

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2

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Religious Factors Historically Affecting Premodern Korean Elite/Higher Education

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The purpose of this study is (1) to examine and analyze two main religious factors, Buddhism and Confucianism, historically affecting premodern Korean culture and (2) to evaluate the influence of the two religions on formal and informal premodern Korean elite/higher education in terms of educational administration.

To research the study systematically, three research questions are addressed: (1) what are the characteristics of Buddhism and Confucianism in the history of Korean culture? (2) how did Buddhism have an effect on *Hwarang* (Flowers of Youth) and monastic Buddhist schools in the Three Kingdoms and the Unified Silla periods? and (3) how did Confucianism affect *Seongkyunkwan* (National Confucian Academy) and *Kwa-keo* (national civilian and military service examinations) systems in the Choson era?

Through descriptive content analysis, the questions were logically defended as the following: First, the two foreign ideologies adopted as national cults or religions provided political and ethical guidance in premodern Korean history. Next, Buddhism had an effect on the *Hwarang* and the informal Buddhist institutions dogmatically and spiritually. In addition, Confucianism affected both the *Seongkyunkwan* and the *Kwa-keo* institutionally and systematically with the collectively authoritative organizational culture. Finally, Confucian ethical values and Buddhist creeds are essential religious factors to cultivate an individual's virtue and to make a healthy culture in institutional organizations.

KEY WORDS: Premodern Korean elite/higher education, Organizational Culture, Buddhism, Confucianism, *Hwarang*, Monastic Buddhist Schools, *Seongkyunkwan*, *Kwa-keo*, Educational Administration

I. Identification of the Research Problem

A. Introduction

Human beings have regarded religion and education as the major means to change their nature and personality for all times

and places. Religion has been viewed as a spiritual matrix complementing the imperfect attributes of the human, and education has been considered as an intellectual tool to satisfy the desire for truth and welfare. Strictly speaking, however, the former has been mostly credited with ethics and morality, whereas the latter has been given great importance in the quality of learning and practice.

In spite of the difference of those characteristics, religion and education have generally sought after the common goals in the pursuit of human perfection and a sublime life. In this vein, religion in Korea has been historically not merely a core factor that has enhanced the spiritual world ethically and morally but also an educational tool which has contributed to the development of practical and intellectual fields.

In particular, the religious factor has been traditionally the basis of the administrative system and organizational culture in premodern Korean elite/higher education as well as the main element in the formation of Korean culture. From the standpoint of Korean religious history, the first contact with Christianity came during the late sixteenth century in the Choson Dynasty (AD 1392-1910) (Clark, 1981; Grayson, 1985; Janeli & Janeli, 1989; Kim, 1995). Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism which were the adopted heterogeneous ideologies amalgamated into Korean culture and which became the main axes of Korean traditional religious thought along with Korean folk beliefs, such as shamanism, animism, and deism. Especially, Buddhism and Confucianism, as state cults or sociopolitical ideologies, had an impact on all of the premodern Korean states: the Three Kingdoms (57 BC-AD 668),[1] the Unified Silla Kingdom (AD 668-935), the Koryo Kingdom (918-1392), and the Choson Dynasty (1392-1910).

From the viewpoint of Korean educational history, the Korean people developed a traditional elite/higher education that generally conformed to the ancient Chinese educational administration and system based on Buddhistic and Confucian studies and traditions before Western Christian missionaries introduced their tertiary education[2] in the late Choson period (1880s-1910) (Grayson, 1985, 87; Lee, 1984, 331-34; Underwood, 1926, 147). From this standpoint, there is no doubt that Buddhism and Confucianism had a significant

impact on traditional Korean education in the early Korean states.

In terms of Korean cultural history, supposing that the history of Korean religion compares to a grapevine, we would say that Korean folk beliefs would be the original branches; Confucianism and Buddhism, old grafted branches; and Christianity, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, a new grafted branch. Like a grapevine, as new branches cannot bear fruit without old branches, so Christianity cannot product the substance of the spiritual and practical world, in particular religion and education in Korea, without old religious thoughts such as Buddhism, Confucianism, and Korean native beliefs. Grafting one branch to another, we assume that the practical fruition in contemporary Korean higher education has been brought about through the tradition of premodern Korean elite/higher education based on the spiritual and cultural leaves of the old and new grafted religious branches.

Based on the above viewpoint, the writer attempts to investigate the impact of historic religious factors on premodern Korean elite/higher education, focusing on the perspective of educational administration. In order to investigate the religious elements in this study, he will first describe the review of related literature that includes the systematic identification and analysis of documents related to the research problem and then discuss major religious ingredients in Korean cultural history. Finally, the impact of the main religious elements on premodern Korean elite/higher education will be estimated in terms of educational administration.

B. Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is (1) to examine and analyze two main religious factors, Buddhism and Confucianism, historically affecting premodern Korean culture and (2) to evaluate the influence of the two religions on formal and informal premodern Korean elite/higher education in terms of educational administration. Overall, this study will be focused on the religious and intellectual history of premodern Korean elite/higher education.

C. Research Questions

Three research questions are addressed:

First, what are the characteristics of Buddhism and Confucianism in the history of Korean culture?

Second, how did Buddhism have an effect on *Hwarang* (Flowers of Youth) and monastic Buddhist schools in the Three Kingdoms and the Unified Silla periods?

Last, how did Confucianism affect *Seongkyunkwan* (National Confucian Academy) and *Kwa-keo* (national civilian and military service examinations) systems in the Choson era?

D. Significance of the Study

The researcher expects that through examination and analysis of Korean cultural history this study will illustrate the religious and pedagogical components in Korean elite/higher education. In addition, in reviewing the field of educational administration, the study will be able to give both Korean and Western educators valuable ideas and criteria regarding educational philosophy and administration.

E. Limitations of the Study

There are several limitations in this study as follows:

As mentioned in the introductory section, the study is limited to the period from the Three Kingdoms to the Choson Dynasty (57 BC-AD 1910), which is named "a premodern period" in this research, among approximately 4,300 years of Korean history. Particularly, the inquirer will treat two major religious thoughts, Buddhism and Confucianism, that were the main institutional and sociopolitical ideologies during the premodern Korean states. Buddhism will be mainly discussed in the Three Kingdoms and the Unified Silla periods, specifically *Hwarang* ("Flowers of Youth") and the monastic Buddhist schools. Confucianism will be generally examined in the Choson period, especially *Seongkyunkwan* and *Kwa-keo* systems.

In addition, the study will be generally limited to organizational culture as an essential professional field in educational administration and be confined to the two religious ideas historically affecting premodern Korean culture and elite/higher education.

F. Definition of Terms

Buddhism

The religion founded in India in the 5th century BC by Siddhartha Gautama who asserted that personal *tanha* (desire) is the origin of suffering and that overcoming *samsara* (the eternal *karmic* round of existence) is the ultimate way to get salvation.

Confucianism

Confucianism is the practical moral guide and rite derived from the teaching of Confucius in the 6th-5th century BC, maintained both in philosophical and religious traditions. It is a norm for individual cultivation, social ethics, and political philosophy.

Neo-Confucianism

Reformed Confucianism is influenced by Buddhism, Taoism, and supernaturalism. In this study, Confucianism discussed in the late Koryo and Choson periods means Neo-Confucianism. Generally, there are no distinctions between Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism because Neo-Confucianism is a branch of traditional Confucianism.

Organizational Culture

The definitions of organizational culture are varied because the concept of organizational culture has been the subject of considerable semantic confusion and academic debate in the last twenty years. In this study, however, organizational culture is defined as philosophy, value, or rite in the religious and institutional organizations.

II. Review of Related Literature

In Korean history, it is widely believed that religious factors such as Confucianism and Buddhism have had great significance in society and culture. Especially, Confucian learning had a significant impact on premodern elite education in the early Korean nations and continues to the present time. Two important ancient Korean historical records, *Samguk-saki* (Historical Record of the Three Kingdoms) (Kim, 1145) and *Samguk-yusa* (Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms)

(Iryon, 1285), indicate that the first formal institution of elite education in Korea, *Taehak* (National Confucian Academy), was built in AD 372 and mainly taught the Confucian classics and Chinese ideas. In addition, the two ancient records reveal that Buddhism was transmitted from China during the Three Kingdoms period[3] and became the cult of the royal court. In consideration of these historical facts, there is no doubt that Confucianism and Buddhism as fundamental religious factors had become the major current of traditional elite education in the early Korean kingdoms.

In consideration of related Confucian studies, a number of Western and Eastern thinkers began to study Confucius and Confucianism in the twentieth century, and they also evaluated the impact of Confucianism on the Western and the Eastern worlds. For instance, H. C. Creel (1949) appraises that "Confucianism contributed to the development of Western democracy is often forgotten" (5); Max Weber (1947) views Confucianism as "The doctrine of the Literate" (144); Yu-lan Fung (1966) regards Confucius as the first teacher or educator (38-40); H. Fingarette (1972) estimates that Confucianism is " worldly teaching or a parallel to Platonist-rationalist doctrines" (1); R. Moritz (1990) assesses that Confucius already belongs to the great teachers of the world culture; and J. Chen (1993) judges that "Confucianism today is challenged by great rivals with the advent of western thought and way of life, and a new social order, brought about by the industrial age" (5). Moreover, some Western and Eastern scholars (de Bary, 1996; Hart, 1993; Hofstede & Bond, 1988; Kihl, 1994; Psacharopoulos, 1984; Tu, 1996) reviewed Confucianism in the aspect of Korean culture. They generally viewed Confucian values and culture as a catalyst in the process of industrial modernization, scientific higher education, economic revival, and sociopolitical westernization in Korea.

As shown in the above, many Western and Eastern theorists have researched Korean Confucian values and culture over time. Like Confucian inquiry, Buddhism concerned with Korean studies has been also reviewed by several scholars in the West and the East. For example, James H. Grayson (1985) ascertains that Buddhism became the cult of the court in all of the early Three Kingdoms (59); Janine Sawanda (1985) views *Maitreya*

[*Miruk* in Korean] Buddha as a typology of past Korean eschatological traditions; Robert E. Jr. Buswell (1989) indicates that "Three Kingdoms Buddhism seems to have been a thoroughgoing amalgamation of the foreign religion and indigenous local cults" (348); and some Korean scholars such as Ki-baek Lee (1984), Woo-keun Han (1988), and Byong-jo Chung (1996) assert that Buddhism provided sociopolitical and ethical guidance to the Korean people in the periods of the Three Kingdoms and the Koryo Kingdom.

As briefly reviewed in this section, numerous studies have shown that the two major religious ideologies have affected the spiritual and practical worlds in premodern and contemporary Korea. However, several studies related to the religious and philosophical thoughts historically influencing premodern Korean education have been done (Hahn, 1969; Kim, 1961; Kim, 1972; Kim et al., 1983; Kim, 1984; S. K. Lee, 1995; W. Lee, 1984). These studies have mostly indicated that philosophical factors based on religious ideologies have been major educational ideas or elements in Korea.

With respect to religious factors as educational ideas, Sung-Il Kim (1961), Kiun Hahn (1969), and In-hoe Kim et al. (1983) indicated that the main religious or philosophical thoughts, such as Confucianism, Buddhism, and Christianity, had a great impact on the development of Korean education. In addition, as for the studies of Confucian education, especially *Seongkyunkwan* or *Kwa-keo* systems in the Choson era, Youngha Choo (1961), Cheonje Shin (1988), Cheonsik Shin (1990), N. Chung (1992), Seungwon Lee (1995), and Seongmoo Lee (1996) studied the *Seongkyunkwan's* educational systems, evaluations, facilities, etc. Also, Youngha Choo (1961), Hongki Pyun (1987), Seongmoo Lee (1994), Choaho Cho (1996), and Wonje Lee (1996) researched the *Kwa-keo* systems and its history.

As shown in this section, although many Western and Eastern scholars have studied Confucianism or Confucian education over time, many Eastern and a few Western researchers have reviewed the *Hwarang* or *Hwarang-do* (the Way of *Hwarang*) (Misina, 1943, Ahn, 1979; Hankuk-cheongsin-moonhwa-yeonkuwon, 1992; Soon Y. Hong, 1970, 1971; Seonkeun Lee, 1951; Peomboo Kim, 1981; Rutt, 1961; Silla-moonhwa-

seonyanghoey, 1989). These studies mostly presented *Hwarang's* history and culture from the aspects of Silla's thought and culture, although several studies showed the *Hwarang's* educational thought and system (Bongsoo Kim, 1960; Kim, 1978; Park, 1962; Son, 1964, 1966). However, studies concerning the monastic Buddhist schools have not been done systematically yet. Thus, this study will be mainly centered on Buddhism concerned with the *Hwarang's* institutional culture and the monastic Buddhist schools as well as on Confucianism related to the *Seongkyunkwan* (National Confucian Academy or University) and the *Kwa-keo* (national civilian and military service examinations) systems in terms of premodern Korean elite/higher education.

III. Research Methodology and Procedures

In order to systematically defend research questions in this study, the inquirer will utilize the descriptive content analysis method (Gay, 1992; Patton, 1990) which involves nonparticipant observation as a type of descriptive research. The descriptive approach is generally useful for investigating a variety of educational problems (Borg & Gall, 1989; Gay, 1992; Grosof & Sardy, 1985; Hyman, 1955; Klaus, 1980). It is rarely definitive and has various methods and techniques of data collection. Accordingly, the exact phase of descriptive research is not limited to any one method. In this study, the researcher will mainly use the method of descriptive content analysis.

To logically explore this study, four major steps in the methodology will begin as the following:

First, the primary and secondary sources such as English, Chinese, and Korean books and articles will be collected directly and indirectly through libraries and data base systems.

Second, most of the valuable data will be placed categorically and coded systematically through Microsoft Word and Excell programs.

Third, after coding and classifying the data thematically, the data will be logically analyzed and interpreted.

Finally, through the above procedures, the last step will present the summary of the study, conclusions of research

findings, and a general discussion of the study.

IV. Religious Factors*

In Chapter II, although the inquirer reviewed two major religious factors, according to the order of the traditional institutional current, that is, Confucianism and Buddhism, he will examine the two adapted religious ideologies, according to the order of the early state cults: Buddhism and Confucianism.

A. Buddhism

Buddhism generally emphasizes that personal *tanha* (craving or desire) is the origin of suffering and that overcoming *samsara* (the eternal karmic round of existence) is the only way to get salvation from the circle of births and deaths, and then, eventually reaching nirvana. In Korea, as mentioned in Chapter II, Buddhism was introduced from the Chinese mainland during the Three Kingdoms period[4] and then came to be supported and developed by the royal house because it was seen to be suitable as a spiritual prop for the new governing structure centered on the authority of the throne (Lee, 1984). In the Three Kingdoms' systems, that were composed of strict social stratification,[5] the Buddhist teaching of reincarnation, a rebirth based on karma (the law of cause and effect), was naturally welcomed as a doctrine giving recognition to the privileged sociopolitical position of the royal families. Also, Buddhism was accepted as a system of thought suited to the needs of a centralized aristocratic society headed by a ruler and played an important role as a force for unity and cohesion in the three states (Lee, 1984, 59-60). According to R. E. Buswell (1989)'s assertion, of the Three Kingdoms, the Buddhism is characterized as the autochthonous snake and dragon cult. In other words, it merged with "the *Mahayana*[6] (Great Vehicle of Salvation) belief in dragons as protectors of the *Dharma* (the Buddha's teaching), forming the unique variety of *hoguk bulgyo* (state-protection Buddhism)" (pp. 348-49).

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* This Chapter was mostly cited from the author's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (The University of Texas at Austin, 1997) and was partly revised and extended.

In considering the Buddhist sects that developed during the Three Kingdoms epoch, there is no denying that the most significant sect was the *Vinaya*, that particularly flourished in Paekche. Although the doctrines of the *Vinaya* stressed monastic disciplines to attain ultimate enlightenment, at that period the Buddhist politicians thought that the unity of belief and discipline fostered by Buddhism could be made to serve the aims of the state in a sense of a sociopolitical importance (Grayson, 1985, 1989; Lee, 1984).

In the early period of Koguryo and Paekche, *Hinayana* spread over into Koguryo, and Paekche Buddhism became a mixture of *Mahayana* and Hinayana doctrines (Grayson, 1985). In the late periods of both Kingdoms, however, the *Nirvana Sutra*,[7] which possesses the Buddha nature and attains to nirvana,[8] was espoused by the Koguryo monk Bodeok to counter the appeal of the Taoist belief in immortality (Lee, 1984: 61). Unlike Koguryo and Paekche, Silla Buddhism was philosophically indebted to *Mahayana* Buddhist texts such as the *Avatamsaka-Sutra* or *Hwaom* Scriptures (Flower Garland Sutra) and the *Saddharma-pundarika Sutra* (Lotus Sutra): the former stresses the doctrine of all-encompassing harmony: the latter contains the Buddha (Siddharta Gautama who is the historic founder of Buddhism) *Shakyamuni's* (the sage of the Shakya clan) teaching, which offers the only true way to salvation, and implicates the merging of the Three Kingdoms of being into one (Chung, 1996, 50-51; Lee, 1984, 81; Ross, 1981). Indeed, Buddhism provided political and ethical guidance to the Korean people in the Three Kingdoms epoch.

Furthermore, since Buddhism was strongly supported by the royal house, Buddhist monks gave ethical as well as political guidance. *Samguk-saki* (Kim, 1145) notes that Silla monk Won-kwang expounded *Sesok-Ogye* (Five Secular Commandments) as the basic creed of life for *Hwarang* ("Flowers of Youth"). According to the 4th Book of *Silla Bonki* (the original record of Silla) in *Samguk-saki*, the *Hwarang* derived its origin from females named Wonhwa, and constituted the handsome youth called *Hwarang* or *Seonrang*. The Five Commandments are: (1) to serve the King with loyalty, (2) to serve one's parents with filial piety, (3) to practice faithfulness in friendship, (4) to never retreat in battle, and (5) to refrain from wanton killing (Kim,

1145). As the above creed shows, the Five Secular Commandments mainly include Confucian ideas and Silla's indigenous idea, whereas the last one is related to Buddhistic syncretism, prohibition of animal killing. In consideration of the *Sesok-Ogye* itself, Confucianism and Buddhism were the *Hwarang's* main educational thought to provide ethical values and to maintain the social stratification as tools for protecting the state.

The *Hwarang* youth honored the *Sesok-Ogye*. *Samguk-saki* (Kim, 1145) and *Samguk-yusa* (1285) illustrated the *Hwarang* as the elite youth of the aristocratic class who dedicated themselves to moral, emotional, and physical cultivation, as well as political and military training. The exact date of the foundation of the *Hwarang* has not been revealed in early Korean historical records, but *Samguk-saki* (Kim, 1145) noted that the *Hwarang* appeared at the end of King Chinhung's reign (AD 576). In addition, *Samguk-yusa* (Iryon, 1285) and *Haedong-kosung-cheon* (Bibliographies of Eminent Korean Monks) (Gakhoon, c. 1215) introduced many stories regarding the *Hwarang*. One of the specially noteworthy facts among the above records was that in the early stage of the institution the elite ladies' *Hwarang* existed, but that in the mid-sixth century only the men's *Hwarang* group lasted (Kim, 1145). In the history of premodern Korean elite education, considering the circumstances of the restricted aristocratic society in the Silla period, the existence of the elite ladies' institution was a very remarkable event.

In addition, according to the above two Korean historical records (Kim, 1145; Iryon, 1285) and *Headong-kosung-cheon* [Bibliographies of Eminent Korean Monks] (c. 1215), the *Hwarang* was a kind of educational and social institute for the elite Silla youth who met as a group to learn Buddhist philosophy, Confucian morality, Taoist quietism, military techniques, and not only instructed each other in the way and righteousness but also entertained such activities as singing, dancing, games, and sightseeing famous mountains and rivers. Such concepts relate to Taoist quietism with the Korean folk belief called *pung-yu-do* (refined poetic way).

Despite the fact that the *Hwarang* was trained in Confucian values, Buddhistic doctrines, Taoist philosophy, and Silla's folk belief, the elite members of *Hwarang* were particularly devoted

to the cult of *Maitreya* (the future Buddha) and took their names based on Buddhist legendary and historical figures because they had hope that *Maitreya* would bring about peace and the unification of the three states under Silla's rule (Grayson, 1989, 49). In practice, the idea, which Buddha would come to build the world of prosperity and unification, played a part in Silla as the social resistance movement or the main source of unification. As Buswell (1989) points out, the *Hwarang*'s eventual identification with *Maitreya* convinced them that tradition would regard the *Hwarang* movement as one intended to discriminate the Buddhist faith among Koreans (349).

From this point of view, the author asserts that the religious elements of the *Hwarang* were generally syntheses of the ideas of Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Silla nationalism with its folk belief, but Buddhism was overall covered with the inner spiritual world of the *Hwarang*. In the Unified Silla period, Buddhism contributed to the political and military organizations as a cult of the royal court and "state-protection religion"; Confucianism had an impact on the establishment of ethical and political principles; Taoism effected the military exercise more practically and conventionally than religiously; and the native Silla belief influenced nationalism. Considering the *Hwarang*'s religious factors, the writer assumes that the curricula of the *Hwarang* put stress on military aspects rather than academic aspects and that the main function of the *Hwarang* had been to cultivate military skills and power. In this vein, the Hwarang School was the informal Buddhist elite institution that mainly emphasized Buddhist creed and thought, but also included Confucian ethical ideas.

After the unification of the Korean peninsula under the Silla elite who were trained under the *Hwarang* troop in AD 668, in particular two representative Buddhist Sects, *O-gyo* (Five Sects or Schools) and Son (Zen, *Chan* in Chinese) Sects or Schools, expanded on a dramatic scale and became more complex and sophisticated. The *O-gyo* (Five Sects or Schools)—the *Yul-jong* (Disciplinary Sect), the *Hwaom-jong* (Avatamsaka Sect), the *Peopsang-jong* (*Fa-hsing* Sect in Chinese), the *Yolban-jong* (Nirvana Sect), and the *Haedong-jong* (Indigenous Sect)—focused on the study of the *Tripitaka*, the Buddhist textual canon, rather than on the study of intuition and introspection, whereas the

Son Sects (Zen Schools) emphasized meditation, aiming to awaken oneself. There were nine schools of Silla *Son* (Zen) Buddhism, which were called *Kusan-sonmoon* (Nine Mountains School of Zen): *Sumi-san, Bongnim-san, Seongju-san, Saja-san, Tongni-san, Kaji-san, Silsang-san, Togul-san,* and *Huiyang-san.* Each school took its name from the mountain on which its central temple was situated (Grayson, 1989; Lee, 1984).

Having followed Chinese religious and intellectual trends,[9] the doctrinal sects and the Son schools adapted themselves to the shamanistic substratum of Silla's life (Grayson, 1985). Buddhism based on *Amitaba* (another name for the Buddha of Infinite Light and Compassion) mixed with the native folk belief and became a popular religion to the Silla people. In the late period of the Unified Silla Kingdom (AD 668-935), the *Son* Buddhism became a dominant form of monastic Buddhism to reflect the decaying Silla Kingdom and to develop an inward-

KOREAN BUDDHISM AND BUDDHIST SCHOOLS

AD-300	600	900	1300	1900
Diffusion of Buddhism (AD372)	Parhae Kingdom (669-928)			
Mahayana				
Hinayana	Doctrinal Schools(O-gyo)	Buddhism as State Religion	Suppressed Buddhism	
Buddhist Monks to Japan				
Koguryo Kingdom(37BC-AD668)				
	Son(Zen) Schools	Uicheon Cheontae School		
Introduction of Buddhism (AD384)				
	Esoteric Buddhism			
Mahayana Buddhist Monks to Japan		Chinul Chogye School		
Hinayana				
Paekche Kingdom(18BC-AD660)				
	Unified Silla Kingdom(668-935)	Koryo Kingdom (918-1392)	Choson Kingdom (1392-1910)	
Adoption of Buddhism (AD528)				
Mahayana				
Initiation of Hwarang(566)				
Won-kwang Expounded Sesok-ogye				
Silla Kingdom(57BC-) (The Early 600's)				

looking individualism (Grayson, 1985, 93).

In terms of Korean elite education, very little is known of the formal elite educational institutes in the Three Kingdoms and the Unified Silla Kingdom periods. The only sources of information are brief references in a few ancient records, such as Samguk-saki, Samguk-yusa, and Haedong-kosung-chon. Based on these sources, the writer draws an inference that during the Three Kingdoms and the Unified Silla Kingdom eras elite education had been carried out dichotomously. One was related to the classical Confucian education adopting Chinese educational systems that stressed Confucian learning and Chinese Classics to build the authoritarian political structure as well as Confucian moral values, whereas the other was concerned with Buddhist Sutras and monastic schools espousing the Buddhist preaching not only to establish a centralized aristocratic state headed by rulers but also to disseminate a national religion as "state protection Buddhism."

In a sense of modern higher education, Buddhist institutes were similar to monasteries or seminaries. Simply put, monastic Buddhist schools had informal educational structure, closed order systems, and religious precepts for spiritual discipline. In this vein, the inquirer supposes that Buddhist schools in the Three Kingdoms and the Unified Silla Kingdom were informal institutes in monasteries.

In particular, from an educational administrative viewpoint, the monastic Buddhist institutions held fast to their own organizational structure and culture under the rigid rules and regulations in order to hand down Buddhist traditions. Although the author cannot prove their organizational structure and culture of that time, due to few historical records regarding the systems of Buddhist institutions, the brilliant Buddhistic culture and many prominent Buddhist monk politicians were assumed to be authoritative leaders exercising political power in the hierarchical organizational society. In this sense, the researcher also assumed that Buddhist institutions were closed systems that stressed Buddhist rules and rites with coercive religious power. For instance, to practice penance for entering into nirvana, the Five Sects and the Nine Mountains Schools of *Son* (Zen) Buddhism in the Unified Silla period emphasized severe physical and spiritual disciplines to assimilate with

Maitreya (the Merciful Buddha or the Future Buddha) or *Bodhisattva* (a Buddhist saint) who attained Enlightenment.

Judging from the above facts, there was no Buddhistic academic higher educational institute in a modern educational sense. However, Silla Buddhism had monasteries that preserved Buddhist traditions and upheld the standards of both Buddhist teaching and monastic discipline. Considering the ecclesiastical function only, Silla Buddhist schools can be compared with Western monasteries in the Middle Ages.

In summary, the Buddhist schools in the early period were closely related to the informal religious monasteries to foster elite monks. Historically, Korean Buddhism had a dogmatic system with authoritative power and monastic organizational culture which emphasized religious rites and rituals. In spite of the rigid creed and system, Buddhism, overall, had an impact on Korean informal elite education spiritually and religiously and occupied the whole national and social systems practically during the Three Kingdoms and the Unified Silla Kingdom.

In particular, the Great Mercy and Compassion based on the spirits of *Maitreya* and *Bodhisattva* has been considered a main factor of organizational culture as an important ethical value in Korean educational administration. Generally, based on the *Dharma* (the teaching of Buddha), *Palcheong-do* (the Right Eightfold Way) has been one of the essential elements of Korean traditional *ethos* (ethics) in the cultivation of an individual's virtuous conduct, with Confucian moral concepts. The *Palcheong-do* advocates right understanding, speech, conduct, vocation, effort, mindfulness, concentration, and thought. In considering the history of Korean culture, Buddhism had a significant impact on the Koryo Dynasty as well as the Three Kingdoms and the Unified Silla Kingdom spiritually, culturally and educationally. Also, Confucianism has dominated the whole Korean education systematically as well as spiritually. Confucianism will be discussed in the following section.

B. Confucianism

With Buddhism, Confucianism has been the main current of old grafted thought that had a great effect on the whole gamut of Korean culture and society in the premodern period. As mentioned in Chapter II, two valuable, early-Korean historical

records, *Samguk-saki* (Kim, 1145, 279) and *Samguk-yusa* (Iryon, 1285, 177), point out that the first Confucian elite institute, *Teahak* (National Confucian Academy), was set up by King Sosurim of Koguryo in AD 372. However, several theorists (Clark, 1981; Grayson, 1989; Yun, 1996) claim that Confucianism was historically transmitted to Korea through continental China before the diffusion of Chinese civilization.

Historically, the royal courts of the Three Kingdoms, the Unified Silla Kingdom, and the Koryo Dynasty espoused Confucianism as the principle of governmental and educational systems to establish the sovereign's power and to keep their political and economic privileges. Although Buddhism as a state ideology or religion had an impact on the whole of the above states sociopolitically and culturally, Confucianism was a significant means by which the educational criteria of all the above kingdoms were implemented, with little conflict between the two ideologies, except during the late Koryo period.

In particular, Buddhism of the Unified Silla and the Koryo Kingdoms developed a brilliant Buddhist culture under the royal patronage, whereas Confucianism contributed to the establishment of social and political principles[10] for the privileged class through the formal academic institutes. The formal elite education began in the Three Kingdoms period (57 BC-AD 668) after adoption of the Chinese educational systems and ideas (Kim, 1145; Lee, 1986; Lee, 1984). The Confucian institutions were mainly to foster prospective government officials; their doors were opened only to the scions of the aristocratic class.

Next, in the Paekche Kingdom (18 BC-AD 660), although there is no distinctive Korean historical record in which the state had a similar educational institution like Koguryo, Paekche also had a similar Confucian Academy. Unesco Korean Survey (1960) notes, "Hou chou Shu" or History of the Later Chou Dynasty mentions that the upper-class people of Baegje [Paekche] enjoyed reading Chinese books such as *O-gyeong* or the Five Classics,...as the Goguryo [Koguryo] people did" (7). In addition, based on the ancient Japanese records (*Nihongi*, Vol. I, Trans., Aston, 1896, 262-63; *Kojiki*, Trans., Chamberlain, 1973, 306), there is no doubt that Paekche also educated the Chinese *literae humaniores* and produced various academic scholars, many of

whom contributed much to the development of the ancient Japanese culture. Two representative scholars among them were A-Chikki and Wang-In (*Wani*). The former was a teacher of the Japanese prince who became Emperor Ohohjin of Japan, and the latter brought ten copies of the Analects of Confucius and one copy of The Thousand Character Classics, a basic text for teaching Chinese letters to the Japanese (Aston, 1896; Chamberlain, 1973).

Last, Silla was far behind Koguryo and Paekche in adopting Chinese educational systems like Buddhism and Confucianism. *Kukhak* (National Academy) was established by King Sinmoon in 682 (Kim, 1145) following the unification of the Korean peninsula. The Silla academy emphasized Confucian learning and Chinese Classics to sustain traditional aristocratic privilege as well as to build an authoritarian sociopolitical structure. Under the period of King Kyungduk (742-765) the national institution was renamed the *Taehakgam* (National Confucian Academy) (Kim, 1145, 582). In the 4th year of King Wonseong (AD 788), the first examination, named the *dokseo-sampumkwa* (three gradations in reading) was held to select government officials through examination in the three levels of proficiency in reading Chinese classics (Kim, 1145, 165). Although the examination was modeled on the Chinese Tang Dynasty's examination system, it had significant meaning as the first national examination, which became a sample of the state or public examinations in the Koryo and Choson Kingdoms.

Like *Taehak* and *Kukhak* in the Three Kingdoms, Koryo had elite schools in the first King Taejo's reign (918-943) (Lee, 1984, 119; Lee, 1986, 47). Although King Taejo as an ardent Buddhist adopted Buddhism as the state religion, he positively encouraged learning to set up a new unified dynasty. In the 10th year of King Seongjong (AD 992), a pious Buddhist and Confucianist, the *Kukchagam* (the National Academy or University), which followed an example of the Chinese educational system.

This institution included three colleges: *Kukchahak* (Higher Chinese Classical College), *Taehak* (High Chinese Classical College), and *Samunhak* (Four Portals College). Subsequently, during King Injong's reign (1122-1146), the institution added three colleges: *Yurhak* (Law College), *Seohak* (Calligraphy), and

Sanhak (Accounting College). Each college had different entrance qualifications, curricula, and instructors. The curricula of the former three colleges were mainly the Chinese Classics: the Five Chinese Classics, the Classic of Filial Piety, and the Analects of Confucius. The curricula of the latter three colleges were each technical areas, such as law, Chinese calligraphy, or accounting. Under Injong's reign, with expansion of the *Kukchagam* (the National Academy), local schools which were called *Hyangkyo* or *Chuhyunhak* were established in local cities to educate local people except the *Cheonmin* (the Mean People) and the sons of Buddhist monks.

On the other hand, private institutions, in particular *Sibi-do* (Twelve Assemblies), rose in Munjong's reign (1046-1083), with esteem for the policy of both Buddhism and Confucianism. Most of the men who established the *Sibi-do* were former governmental officials and famous Confucian scholars. With the private academies flourishing, the state schools gradually declined, and most aristocrats considered that it was a great honor for their sons to attend the *Sibi-do* rather than the National Academy (Choo, 1961; Lee, 1986). Concerned with these circumstances, King Yejong (1103-1122) set up lectures given in several areas of study in the National Academy including the following: Book of History, Book of Changes, Rituals of Chou, Book of Rites, Classics of Songs, and Spring and Autumn Annals (Choo, 1961, 13; Lee, 1986, 55). King Injong (1122-1146) again extended the National Academy. After that time, although the name of the Kukchagam was changed into *Kukhak* and then *Seongkyunkwan*, the basic characteristics and systems of the academy remained almost the same.

In the Koryo period (918-1392), the national and local educational systems were closely related to the civil service examinations, originally devised in China, as ways for selecting the governmental officials. The examination (Koryo's Kwa-keo) systems were established in the 10th year of King Kwangjong (958) and composed of three basic types: *Chesul-up* (the examination of Chinese literary composition) concerned Chinese literature, *Myongkyung-up* (the examination of Chinese classics) related to Confucian canonical works, and the others called *Chap-up* (the miscellaneous examinations) such as law, accounting, calligraphy, medicine, divination, and geomancy

(Lee, 1984; Lee, 1986). The first and second types were examined for the purpose of choosing government officials, while the third was held to select various specialists to serve in various government offices. Considering Koryo's aristocratic political grade organizations and rigid social status systems, the standings of the above two examinations were higher and more important than the miscellaneous examinations. Therefore, the systems were only tools to maintain the aristocratic organizations in Koryo society and were matrices of *Kwa-keo* (the National civilian and military service examinations) in the Choson period.

From the beginning of the Choson Dynasty, Confucianism was the state core ideology and cult to cultivate bureaucrats to lead the people and to edify those who are able to follow Confucian ethics and values. In this vein, Confucianism was a measure of all things. The Choson Kingdom as a Confucian state established a strictly authoritarian bureaucratic society through formal Confucian institutes and the Kwa-keo systems.

To explore the main concern of this study, in this section the author will focus on Confucian elite education in the Choson Dynasty, especially *Seongkyunkwan* (National Confucian Academy or University) and the *Kwa-keo* (the national civil and military service examinations) systems. During the Choson period, there were various public and private Confucian educational institutes: *Teahak* or *Seongkyunkwan* as the highest institute; *Obu-hakdang* or *O-hak* (Five Schools) as the secondary schools; *Chong-hak* (Royal School) in the capital city; *Hyang-Kyo* (Local Secondary School) in the province; *Che-hak* (Technical or Occupational School); *Seowon* (Private Academy); *Seodang* (Private Elementary Village School).

Among these institutes, the *Seongkyunwan* as the highest national institute overall to succeeded to the organizational structure, curricula, and functions of *Tehak*, *Kukhak*, *Kukchagam*, or *Seongkyunkwan* in the Three Kingdoms and the Koryo Kingdom periods. Therefore, the *Seongkyunkwan* was a womb or sanctuary of Korean Confucianism. Through the Confucian institutions, Choson Confucianism synthesized the Confucian traditions of the Three Kingdoms, the Unified Silla Kingdom, and the Koryo Dynasty, with Neo-Confucianism of the late Koryo period. Additionally, it developed the idiosyncratic

Korean Confucianism.

With the *Seongkyunkwan*, the Confucian elite education system depended on the *Kwa-keo* systems because Confucian education was mainly viewed as an institution for preparing future civilian bureaucrats who rose to sociopolitical positions through passing the *Kwa-keo* examinations. Accordingly, the Confucian elite education and the *Kwa-keo* had an inseparable relation.

The *Seongkyunkwan* was built in the capital city (present Seoul) under the period (1392-1398) of King Taejo, the founder of the Choson Dynasty, after modeling the *Kukchagam* (Koryo's National Academy). The *Seongkyunkwan* means "Hall of Harmony" which is cited from 'the Rites of Chou' (*Chou Li*, in Chinese) (Galt, 1929, 33) and symbolizes "the cultivation of a balanced individual." From the record of the *Choson-wangjo-sillok* (the Annals of the Choson Dynasty), the educational objectives of the *Seongkyunkwan* were (1) to build Confucian moral principles, (2) to cultivate a balanced personality through Confucian sages, and (3) to foster the virtuous Confucian bureaucrats.

The National Academy (*Seongkyunkwan*) had many buildings, such as the *Myung-ryun-dang* (the lecture hall of students), the *Mun-myo* (the Confucian Shrine),[11] *Chonkyungkak* (a library), a dining room, and auxiliary facilities. Therfore, the *Seongkyunkwan* was not only the highest national institute of Confucian learning but also the supreme Confucian sanctuary to offer up Confucian sacrifices and rites.

According to *Kyung-kuk-dae-cheon* (1485) (the Great National Code), the organizational structure of the *Seongkyunkwan* was headed by a *Jisa* of *Cheong-i-pum* (the Governor of the Second Degree among the eighteen official position-class), two vice governors (*Dongjisa*), one acting president (Taesaseong), two vice presidents (*Saseong*), three curriculum managers (*Saye*), four lecture guides (*Chik-kang*), and other faculty members. The students, sons or grandsons of the *Yangban*'s (the upper class) bureaucrats, of the *Seongkyunkwan* constituted two hundred *seng-won* (classics students) and *chin-sa* (literary students). The curricula of the National Academy mainly composed of *kangkyung* (reading) and *chesul* (writing or composition) about Confucian classics, Chinese history, and various writing styles of

Chinese calligraphy.

The students at the *Seongkyunkwan* were encouraged to practice their learning by various teaching methods, such as reading, writing, discussion, praising, and examinations. Additionally, they participated in the Confucian rituals and paid reverence to the Confucian sages, which had great significance for Confucian education. Such a formal ritual tradition became a main stream of customary practice in Confucian society. On the other hand, they were given considerable autonomy to cultivate their learning leading to the great privilege to take the *Kwa-keo*. For example, students sometimes tried to reflect their opinions on educational or national policies and protested against unreasonable educational administration. The students were allowed extra-curricula activities, although the school authorities controlled and supervised them under strict ordinances and regulations.

In consideration of organizational culture in *Seongkyunkwan*, the Academy had a highly vertical or centralized organizational culture and exercised authoritarian leadership because each position was stratified according to the 18 official position-classes. In addition, the seating position was based on rank, determined by the order of official position and age. Thus, considering the organizational structure, the seating position, curriculum, and instruction of the National Academy, the author concludes that the organizational culture of the Academy was a closed system that maintained formal authoritarianism, monologic communication, and an age-ranking system based on Confucian values, norms, and rites.

With the *Seongkyunkwan*, the Confucian educational system in the Choson period relied on the *Kwa-keo* (national civil and military service examinations), as a mainstay of the Choson's education, which modeled the Chinese civil examination systems. The examination systems traced the origin in the most ancient Chinese history, particularly emperor *Yao-shun* reign (2357-2205 BC), and was much developed during the Chou (1122-255(?) BC), the Chin (255-206 BC), and the Han Dynasties (349 BC-AD220) (Galt, 1929, 152-53; Kuo, 1915, 7-8). In Korea, as mentioned in the previous chapters, *Dokseo-sampumkwa* (three gradations in the reading) that was held in the 4th year (AD 788) of King Wonseong in Silla was the origin of

the first state examination, but the *Kwa-keo* systems were established in the 10th year (AD 958) of King Kwangjong after modeling on the Chinese civil service examinations (Kibaek Lee, 1984; Seongmoo Lee, 1994).

The *Kwa-keo* was the national examination based on the Chinese classics to select administrative bureaucrats. The Choson rulers used the examination system to establish their sovereign power and to keep their own privileges and interests. The *Yangban* (the ruling class) monopolized the examinations for appointment to civil offices. Although the examinations were opened to commoners, the commoners seldom had the opportunity to pass the examinations because the Confucian public and private schools were strictly limited for them. Thus, the examinations truly belonged to the *Yangban* who wanted to be Confucian bureaucrats. As Sun-young Park (1996) points out, success in the *Kwa-keo* was weighed both as a personal honor and as a matter of great pride for the entire clan and the most desirable expression of filial piety (141).

In the first year of King Taejo (1392), the law of the *Kwa-keo* was described in Teajo *Silok* (the Annals of the King Taejo), Book 1, as follows:

> Civil and Military Service Examinations should not be managed partially... The fundamental purpose of the *Kwa-keo* is to select talented men for the state... The candidates for the first examination (*Cho-jang*) will be tested on the Four Books, the Five Classics, and *Tongkam* (Chinese history). According to the result of examination grades, those who passed the examination will be sent to the Ministry of Rites (*Ye-cho*). In the Ministry of Rites, the candidates will take another test (*Chung-jang* or Second Examination) in prose and poetry, and sit for an oral test at the final examination (*Chong-jang*). Thirty-three men among the candidates who passed all three examinations will be sent to the Ministry of Personnel (*Yi-cho*) to be assigned to official positions according to their talents. (Book 1, July *Cheongmi*, the first year of King Taejo)

The *Kwa-keo* examinations were regularly held every three years (*Siknyon-si*) for three kind of tests and sometimes given special tests (*Teukbyul-si*) commemorating important national

events. According to *Kyung-kuk-dae-chon* (1485), the *Kwa-keo* was classified into civil, military, and miscellaneous examinations. First, the civil service examinations were held on two levels: *Sokwa* or *Samasi* (Lower level) and *Daekwa* or *Munkwa* (Higher level). The *Sokwa* was classified into *Saengwonkwa* (the Confucian classics examination) and *Jinsakwa* (the Chinese literary examination). Both examinations were composed of *Cho-si* (the first test) and *Bok-si* (the second test). The former was called *Hanseong-si* and *Hyang-si*, according to the places of tests, where as the letter was given in the capital under the supervision of *Ye-cho* (the Ministry of Rites).

Those who passed the *Saengwonkwa* or *Jinsakwa* were qualified to enter the *Seongkyunkwan* as *Soenbi* (the Confucian learned men) and to apply for the *Munkwa* or *Daekwa* that was a gateway to high officialdom. The *Munkwa* was composed of three examinations: *Cho-si* (the first examinations), *Bok-si* (the second examinations), and *Jeon-si* (the final examinations). The first examinations included three tests called *Kwan-si* (*Seongkyunkwan* test), *Hanseong-si* (the Capital city test), and *Hyang-si* (Provincial test). The test subjects were writing the Chinese classics, history, and poetry. The second examinations also included three tests given to 33 successful candidates who passed the first examinations. The subjects of the tests were reading and writing the Chinese classics and history. The final examination was in three groups: 3 *Kapkwa* (A), 7 *Eulkwa* (B), and 23 *Byungkwa* (C). Especially, the top of the three men in the *Kapkwa* group was called *Jangwon* (the highest distinction), followed by *Bang-an* and *Tamhwarang*. The men who passed the *Munkwa* examinations were appointed to government office.

Second, the Military Service Examinations (*Mukwa*) were also held in three stages: provincial, capital, and palace examinations like civil service examinations. Although the Military Service Examinations were first practiced in the late Koryo period, the Choson Dynasty executed to select military officers. Most candidates came from military families or low ranking officials. The subjects of the tests were martial arts, the Confucian classics, and military skills and knowledge.

Last, the Miscellaneous Examinations (*Chapkwa*) were given for the selection of technical or vocational affairs, such as

foreign language, medicine, astronomy (including geomancy and meteorology), and law. The examinations were held to select translators, medical doctors, technical specialists who observe stars and make calendar, and judicial officers. The candidates took each subject of their special areas. Most candidates were from the *Chungin* (the professional group).

Throughout approximately the 500 year of Choson Kingdom's reign, the Kwa-keo systems had many twists and turns. Nevertheless, the Kwa-keo was the spine of Choson's education or a gateway for young Confucians who wanted to be governmental officials and to be proud of their pedigrees. Accordingly, the author asserts that the ultimate goal of education in the Choson period was to pass the Kwa-keo and to get an official post. In fact, it is not too much to say that the Kwa-keo is regarded as a matrix of the present civil service examinations, especially Sabeop-gosi (civil service examination

KOREAN CONFUCIANISM AND CONFUCIAN ACADEMIES (-AD 100—1910)

-AD100		600	900	1300	1900
The Early Existence of Confucianism	Confucianism as a Second Key Institution	Parhae Kingdom			
Establishment of Taehak (372)			Beginning of Kwa-keo Systems (958)	Confucian State	
Koguryo Kingdom					
		Beginning of Dokseo-sampumkwa (788)		Foundation of Seongkyunkwan (1398)	
Pre-existent Confucianism	Confucianism as a Second Key Institution		Establishment of Kukchagam (992)		
Paekche Confucian Scholars to Japan				Kwa-keo Systems (Civil and Military Service Exams)	
Paekche Kingdom					
Pre-existent Confucianism	Confucianism as a Second Key Institution	Opening of Kukhak (682)	Introduction of Neo-Confucianism		
Silla Kingdom		Unified Silla Kingdom	Koryo Kingdom	Choson Kingdom	

for higher judicial officers) and Haengjeong-gosi (civil service examination for higher administrative officers) in Korea.

Simply put, under the Confucian *Yangban's* society, Confucianism or Neo-Confucianism was the Golden Rule. In other words, Confucian theory and practice managed Choson's politics, economics, society, culture, and education. Specifically speaking, Neo-Confucianism framed the authoritarian organizational structure of the Confucian state and constituted the *Yangban's* bureaucratic culture, particularly the *Yangban* males' dominant culture; Neo-Confucian rulers and bureaucrats occupied almost all of the farmland with their coercive political and economic power; Neo-Confucianism shaped a closed organizational system which emphasizes ethical obligations and traditional collectivism based on the Confucian ethical values; the Neo-Confucian Choson Dynasty generally excluded all religious and philosophical thoughts except Neo-Confucianism; and Choson's elite education only focused on the instillation of Neo-Confucian theory and practices that contributed to the establishment of Confucian ethics and values and that supported the *Yangban* bureaucratic state. In conclusion, Confucianism or Neo-Confucianism was a political, social, and educational system itself in the Choson period, and was the core of the organizational culture in the *Seongkyunkwan* and the *Kwa-keo* systems.

V. Summary and Conclusion

In this study, to examine the religious factor historically affecting premodern Korean elite/higher education, the author addressed three research questions. In order to defend the questions, he discussed Buddhism and Confucianism through the descriptive content analysis method. First, this study showed that in the history of Korean culture the characteristics of the two religions were foreign thoughts introduced from China and adopted as national cults and religions which provided political and ethical guidance. In the Three Kingdoms period, Buddhism became an amalgamation of foreign religion with the native folk religious ideas and formed the unique variety of "state-protection Buddhism." In particular, under the Unified

Silla Kingdom and the late Koryo Dynasty, Buddhism as a key institution dominated all of Korean society and culture, whereas Confucianism as a minor institution for formal elite education diffused the political-ethical values to the upper class. From the beginning of the Choson dynasty, however, Confucianism or Neo-Confucianism was a national ideology and religion, as well as a political, social, and educational system itself. Also, it was a core of organizational culture in terms of Choson's elite education.

Second, the next research question was defended: *Hwarang* (Flowers of Youth) was an educational institute for the Silla youth who met as a group to learn and exercise Buddhist ideas, Confucian morality, Taoist philosophy, military techniques, etc. As indicated in Chapter Four, the inquirer judged that the *Hwarang* was the most prominent Buddhist institution in the Three Kingdoms period because the elite members of the *Hwarang* were particularly devoted to the cult of *Maitreya* and took their names based on Buddhist legend and figures. Although the educational thoughts of the *Hwarang* were syntheses of the thoughts of Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Silla nationalism with its folk beliefs, an ultimate goal of the Hwarang was to identify with *Maitreya*. For this reason, the writer evaluated that Buddhism was the first main factor in *Hwarang*'s education.

In addition, from an educational administrative viewpoint, the author judged that the informal Buddhist institutions, Five Schools and Zen Schools, had a dogmatic closed system in a monastic original culture that stressed religious rites and rituals. In this vein, he evaluated that the early Buddhist monastic informal institutions maintained a religious dogmatic organizational culture based on *Dharma* (the teaching of Buddha). Thus, the researcher estimated that Buddhism in the early historical period had an effect on the *Hwarang* and the informal Buddhist institutions dogmatically and spiritually.

Last, although Confucianism was not a national cult or religion in the periods of the Three Kingdoms and the Unified Silla Kingdom, under the Choson Dynasty, Confucianism was a state religion. The study indicated that in the Choson era the *Seongkyunkwan* was a prop of Confucianism and the *Kwa-keo* was a backbone of Confucian education. Therefore, the author

appraised that Confucianism affected both the *Seongkyunkwan* and the *Kwa-keo* institutionally and systematically with the collectively authoritative organizational culture.

From the above defence, in order to build a strong organizational culture in Korean higher education, the writer asserts that Korean educators should adopt the merit of the traditional religious factors that influenced premodern Korean elite education. In fact, charity or mercy based on Buddhist *Dharma* is one of significant ethical elements, like Confucian benevolence or love. Also, Confucian ethical values and Buddhist creeds are essential religious factors to cultivate an individual's virtue and to make a healthy culture in institutional organizations.

Finally, this study has a few weaknesses that depend upon literature sources with an explanatory analysis and a general treatment with Confucianism and Buddhism in the partly period of Korean cultural history. In spite of these weaknesses, the researcher hopes that the study will provide the present and future Korean educators valuable information to build a strong organizational culture in the Korean educational administration and will show the professionals a direction for future studies in Korean higher education.

Footnotes

1) The Three Kingdoms were Silla (57 BC-AD 935), in the southeast; Koguryo (37 BC-AD 668), in the north; and Paekche (18 BC-AD 660), in the southwest.
2) Grayson (1985) notes that in 1885 a Catholic seminary as the first Western tertiary school in Korea was opened in Korea and moved to the capital in 1887 (87). In addition, H. H. Underwood (1926) describes the seminary: "The full course of the seminary is divided into three parts, preparatory, Latin school, and seminary" (147).
   Cf. Ki-baik Lee's (1984) book, "A New History of Korea," 331-34.
3) In the history of Korea, the recorded date for the initial acceptance of Buddhism, which came from the Chinese Former Chin state, is the year AD 372 (Lee, 1984, 59).
4) The generally recorded date for the initial introduction of Buddhism is the year AD 372, when the monk Sundo came to Koguryo from the Chinese Former Chin state. In 384 the Indian monk Malananda introduced Buddhism to Paekche. In Silla, Buddhism was first disseminated by the mid-fifth century by the monk A-do. However, Grayson (1985) claims that Buddhism existed prior to the date of official acceptance in Koguryo and Silla (59).

5) The society of Silla was arranged according to a rigidly ranked system, the Kolpumje (the Bone Rank System) and 17 office rank systems. In addition, the "colored vestments" system of Paekche that ranked the officialdom into sixteen grades arranged in three tiers, like the similar Koguryo's 12 office rank systems (Lee, 1984, 48-54).
6) Buddhism developed in two directions, Hinayana or Theravada (Southern Buddhism of Sri Lanka, Burma, and Thailand) and Mahayana (Northern Buddhism of Tibet, China, Korea, and Japan). The former stresses the means of salvation restricted to a small number of people; the latter emphasizes the means of salvation available to a large number of people.
7) In Silla case, the insights of the Nirvana Sutra were utilized by Silla monks, such as Wonhyo and Uisang (Grayson, 1985, 49).
8) In Buddhism, nirvana is the perfect or beatific state, characterized by the extinction of desires and passions, and the transcending of the separate existence of the self (The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy, 1994, 263).
9) For instance, the stream of esoteric Buddhism flew to the Silla Kingdom. One of the most important monks was Doson (827-898), who was best known for his writing on geomancy, fortune telling, and prognostication (Grayson, 1985).
10) In a religious viewpoint, like Buddhism, Confucianism performed the social functions of religion without a god and was an ideal ethical-moral system that emphasized decorum, rites, and ceremony.
C. K. Yang (1967) views the supernatural and cultic aspects of Confucianism as a part of its theoretical system and a practiced tradition. Additionally, in the Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism, Max Weber says, "In the absence of any other eschatology or doctrine of salvation, or any striving for transcendental values and destinies, the religious policy of the state remained simple in form" (tr. Hans H. Gerth, 1962, 145).
On the other hand, Francois Houtart (1978) asserts that Korean Confucianism was not an institutional religion, and that it thus "did not offer the base" for confrontation with Christian missionaries (241).
11) The Mun-myo consisted of Daeseong-cheon (the Confucian Temple of the Great completion), and the west and the east Mu (adjoining rooms to Daeseong-chon). The Confucian Temple was consecrated with Confucius at the top, then the four core Confucian sages (Yen-tzu, Tseng-tzu, Tzu-ssu, and Mencius), and then the ten most conspicuous Confucian disciples. In addition, the two adjoining rooms were consecrated with seventy disciples of Confucius, prominent Chinese, and Korean Confucian scholars.

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Volume 8 December 1998

Articles

"Learning Perspective" in the Asian Viewpoint
..... *Shinil Kim* 1

An Educational Reform of School Culture for Sustainable Development
— A Case of Educational Reform in Korea —
..... *Yong-Lin Moon* 23

Religious Factors Historically Affecting Premodern Korean Elite/Higher Education ..... *Jeong-Kyu Lee* 31

Democracy as Self-Organizing System
..... *Yong Pil Rhee* 65

The Increase of Educational Opportunity in Korea under the Japanese Occupation: For Whom the Bell Told? ..... *Seung-Cheol Oh, Ki-Sook Kim* 83

Soviet Influence on the North Korean Educational System and Educational Practice
..... *Andrei N. Lankov* 97

Peters and White on Pleasure
..... *Jeong-Nae Kim* 119